1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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CHAPTER XIV

MARRIAGE

582 618 WHATEVER the origin of the clans and phratries, they serve as a means of regulating the marriages of Hill and Bison-horn Marias; in the case of the latter, among whom the clan is no longer a territorial as well as a social unit, one might say that the primary function of the clan and phratry organization is the regulation of marriage. A child is born into the clan of its father, and, if a son, must remain in that clan all its life; but, if a daughter, passes on marriage to the clan of the husband, and on re-marriage from his clan to that of the second husband. A son must not take a wife, or a daughter a husband, from the father's clan or from any clan that is brother-clan or *dadabhai* to it: he must marry a wife from, and she must marry into, some clan that is a wife-clan or *akomama* of their father's clan. It has been seen that the phratry system of the Bison-horn Marias gives them a wider field of selection of wives and husbands than the more inchoate group system of Hill Maria clans. A widow, however, must not marry as second husband a man whose clan is brother to her father's clan, even though through being in a phratry other than that of her first husband's clan the second husband's clan would be wife-clan to the first husband's. In a word, throughout a woman's life all her marriages are regulated by the clan into which she was born.

Exogamy

● 601 114 Appendix III gives a list of the Hill Maria terms of relationship so far as I could ascertain them; they were collected in Orcha and adjacent villages by the genealogical method, and verified in other parts of the Abujhmar hills. They were collected as terms of reference, though some are used also as terms of address, e.g. *mama*, *dada*, *kaka*. I was unable in the time at my disposal to make a similar collection of the Bison-horn Maria terms; but so far as my observation went their terms are the same but for dialectical differences. This applies also, it may be added, in a considerable degree to the terms used by the Gonds of the Nagpur District, and, to judge from the incomplete list given in Trench's *Grammar*, Volume I, to those of the Betul Gonds. It may be added that when [551] a son has been born to him, a Hill or Bison-horn Maria is often addressed by his family and neighbours as the father of his son, e.g. '*Rajin-tappe*', meaning 'Father of Raje'.

601 *Dadabhai*, the word used to designate kindred or brother-clans, is a combination of *dada*, the Gondi term for an elder brother, and

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bhai, the Hindi word for all brothers; in both cases, of course, 601
'brother' is not used in our narrow sense, but includes paternal cousins of the same generation in any degree. The son of any father related to me as my *pepi* or father's elder brother counts as my *dada* or elder brother, and the son of any father related to me as my *kaka* or father's younger brother counts as my *tamo* or younger brother. *Akomama*, the word used to designate affine or wife-clans, is a combination of *ako* and *mama*; the Hill Marias call their mother's father *ako*, and a man uses the same term for both his daughter's son and his daughter's daughter, who, of course, would be his affines and not his kindred; a Hill Maria man applies the term *mama* not only in the ordinary Hindi way to his mother's brother (or parallel cousin), but also to his wife's father and to her brother's son.

In theory, therefore, marriage is permissible between a man 582
and any woman of any wife-clan, with, however, certain definite 607
exceptions. The chief of these is the strict rule prohibiting a man marrying his wife's elder sister, which is stressed at Bison-horn marriages by the bridegroom putting the ring which he gives her in a cloth which she holds out, and not on her finger, as he does with the ring he gives to his wife's younger sister, and by the elder sister when she receives the ring in her cloth telling the bridegroom that thenceforth he must neither touch her nor utter her name. A man may not marry his mother-in-law or her co-widow or any woman related to them as a 'sister',[1] or any of his aunts[1] or nieces,[1] even though of an *akomama* or wife-clan. In theory, there is nothing to prevent him marrying his daughter's daughter, a young widow of his father's father, his father's mother's sister or his mother's father's sister; in practice, however, disparity of age usually rules out such unions, and in all the villages in which I have investigated Hill and Bison-horn Maria marriages I have never come across an actual example of any of them; I found one case, however, in which a man had married his elder brother's daughter's daughter. Lastly, just as a man may not touch or marry his [587]
wife's elder sister, so a widow may not marry her dead husband's elder brother, though she can, and frequently does, marry his younger brother.

Offences against the rules of exogamy occur, but very rarely 684
among the Hill Marias, and only slightly less rarely among the Bison-horn. A youth of the Gume hill clan at Toinar was accused in 1929 of 835

[1] Using 'aunt' and 'niece' like 'brother' in the extended sense, to cover not only actual aunts and nieces, but also female cousins once removed. 'Sister' similarly includes paternal female cousins of the same generation in any degree.

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PEDIGREE OF THE

•601
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Usendi WANJA, *gaita* = ♀

U. MODA = Gume PANO, own sister of Gume GUDI of Hikul

U. BAIYYA, *gaita* after U. RAMA; resigned 1926; died 1934 = Dhurwa ♀, died long ago
S.P.

U. BANGA, died abou 1922 in jail, under lif sentence for murderin U. BHOSA

Guma OGHAL of Hikul, son of his wife's mother's brother. Died before 1930 = U. Dopi, living 1934
S.P.

U. Wanje, d. unmarried

Gecha HARMA of Udala Tondawada, son of G. MALLA. Died in 1929 = U. Hire, li

Gecha Pakli, living 1934, aged 8

[p. 306(A)]

U. B. killed accide *salphi*

GREE OF THE ORCHA FAMILY IN WHICH SUCCESSION TO *PARGANA* AN

601
632

J. BANGA, died about 922 in jail, under life entence for murdering J. BHOSA = Gume Ippo, d. of his mother's brother, G. GUDI of Hikul. Living 1934, nearly 80

of Udala = U. Hire, living n of G. in 1929

cha Pakli, living 1934. d 8

U. MODA, about 55 in 1934. released in 1926 after 10 years of life sentence for U. BHOSA's murder. *Gaita* since 1928 = ♀ = (2) Gecha Kowe, own sister of his brother-in-law Gecha HARMA, married year after him and Hire. Living 1934, about 34

U. IRKA, 8 years old in 1934 — U.

♀

(U. BHOSA's magic was said to have killed this wife and daughter)

U. BHOSA, became *gaita* when in about 1910 U. BAIYYA, his first cousin, resigned, and was appointed *pargania* (*pargana* head man). Murdered in 1916 for magic and 'trying to set up a *raj* over Metabhum'; was then 60 = Potawi Kane, d. of P. MURRA of Tulur hamlet of Orcha. Living in 1934 in part of U. POLA's house and cooking for him, but not as his wife

U. BARANGA, said to have killed himself in 1927 by accidentally falling from a *salphi* tree

U. IRKA, about 18 in 193 brought up by U. POLA, uncle

[p. 306(B)]

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●601
632 RGANA AND FAMILY HEADSHIP IS HEREDITARY

U. RANA, succ. his father as *gaita*; murdered for magic by U. BANGA in 1906 =

U. DANGI, died very old in 1933 = Ahkal Nendo, d. of Ahkal MULLA of Godari; still living 1934

Kowa, own brother-in-ARMA, marr-er him and g 1934.

U. HARMA, d. 1926, just after release from jail for U. BHOSA's murder = Dol Bire, d. of Dol Murral of Kokapar

Son killed by BHOSA's magic

U. KOHLA, d. 1928 became *pargania* and *gaita* in 1916 on BHOSA's murder

s old in

U. Dōtl, born in 1932

U. KOSA, 26 in 1934, = Jugho K *pargania* since U. KOHLA's death in 1928. Married in 1929 GUDI of

U. WAghāll, born 1932

URRA rcha. t of iking wife

U. POLA = Dhurwa Burgi, d. of Dhurwa MULLA, kinsman of POLA's mother's father, died in 1919

S.P.

about 18 in 1934; p by U. POLA, his

[p. 306(C)]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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601
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HEREDITARY

U. RĀMA, succ. his father as *gaita*; murdered for magic by U. BANGA in 1906 = Dhurwa Kāhpe, d. of Dhurwa MODA of Gomagal

Ahkal Nendo, d. of Ahkal DULLA of Godari; still living 934

re, d. of Dol Murrai kapar

SA's

U. KOHLA, d. 1928; became *pargania* and *gaita* in 1916 on BHOSA's murder = Guma Mene of Hikul, sister of Guma Oghal, his brother-in-law

♀ 'killed by BHOSA's magic'

U. KOSA, 26 in 1934, *pargania* since U. KOHLA's death in 1928. Married in 1929 = Jugho Kohle, d. of Jugho GUDI of Adeq

U. WĀGHĀR, born 1932

LA = Dhurwa Burgi, d. of Dhurwa MULLA, kinsman of POLA's mother's father, died in 1919

S.P.

[p. 306(D)]

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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APPENDIX III

HILL MARIA TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

●601

(These are terms of reference; but see p. 244)

Father	*tāppa*
Mother	*talugh, amā*
Stepfather	*kākā*
Stepmother	*kuchī*
Elder brother (m.s.)	*dādā*
Elder brother (w.s.)	*dādā*
Elder sister (m.s.)	*akkā (akkāī)*
Elder sister (w.s.)	*akkā*
Father's elder brother	*pepī*
Father's elder brother's wife	*pevī*
Father's younger brother	*kākā*
Father's younger brother's wife	*kuchī*
Father's elder brother's son	*dādā*
Father's elder brother's daughter	*ānjī*
Father's sister (elder or younger)	*āī*
Father's sister's husband	*bachā*
Father's sister's child	*marriyō* (m) *mandārī* (f)
Mother's brother	*māmā*
Mother's brother's wife	*āī*
Mother's brother's child	*marriyō* (m) *mandārī* (f)
Mother's elder sister	*pevī*
Mother's younger sister	*kuchī*
Mother's sister's husband	*kākā*
Father's father	*ākō*
Father's mother	*bāpī*

Son	*māghī*
Daughter	*miārī*
Son	*māghī*
Daughter	*miārī*
Stepson	*māghī*
Stepdaughter	*miārī*
Younger brother (m.s.)	*tamō*
Younger sister (m.s.)	*kallār*
Younger brother (w.s.)	*tamō*
Younger sister (w.s.)	
Younger brother's child (m.s.)	*māghī* (m)
Elder brother's child (m.s.)	*miārī* (f)
Husband's brother's child	
Father's younger brother's son	*tamō*
Father's younger brother's daughter	*kallār*
Brother's son (w.s.)	*podā*
Wife's brother's son	*māmā*
Mother's brother's child	*marriyō* (m) *mandārī* (f)
Sister's child (m.s.)	*bachā* (m) *bachī* (f)
Husband's sister's child	*hanomāghī* (m) *hanomiārī* (f)
Father's sister's child	*marriyō* (m) *mandārī* (f)
Younger or elder sister's child (w.s.)	*māghi* (m) *miārī* (f)
Son's son (m.s.)	*tamō*
Son's daughter (m.s.)	*kallār*
Son's son (w.s.)	*unndō*
Son's daughter (w.s.)	

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Mother's father	*dāō*
Mother's mother	*hāāō*
Husband	*hoitor*, or *mudyal* (old man)
Wife's father	*māmā*
Wife's mother	*dīō*
Husband's father	*māmā*
Husband's mother	*dīō*
Wife's elder brother	*errumīgh*
Wife's younger brother	*errundi*
Wife's elder sister	*aho'in*
Wife's younger sister	*hōhhōrī*
Husband's brother	*dādā*
Husband's elder sister	*dhhā*
Husband's younger sister	*hōhhōrī*
Wife's elder sister's husband	*eglā*
Wife's younger sister's husband	*hāīō*
Husband's elder brother's wife	*dhhā*
Husband's younger brother's wife	*hāllār*
Son's wife's father	*p'arī*
Son's wife's mother	*dhhā*

Daughter's son (m.s.) / Daughter's daughter (m.s.)	*dhō*
Daughter's son (w.s.) / Daughter's daughter (w.s.)	*mundō*
Wife	*ār*
Daughter's husband (m.s.) / Daughter's husband (w.s.)	*undo*
Son's wife (m.s.)	*koryārī*
Son's wife (w.s.)	*koryārī*
Younger sister's husband (m.s.)	*errumīgh*
Elder sister's husband (m.s.)	*dādā* or *bāīō*
Younger sister's husband (w.s.)	*pehā*
Elder sister's husband (w.s.)	*dādā*
Brother's wife (m.s.)	*koryārī*
Elder brother's wife (w.s.)	*ange*
Younger brother's wife (w.s.)	*koryārī*

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3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
AW32 Gond AW32
Bison Horn Maria

607 sometimes lead to trouble. To the younger man, his elder brother's wife is delightful because she is accessible and does not burden his conscience. To the elder man, the younger girl is doubly attractive because she is forbidden. The word [60] 'brother', of course, under the classificatory system of relationship, includes also male relations who are more usually called cousins.

674 578 607 A youth Hemla Bakka killed his wife Jimme for having betrayed him with his elder cousin Hemla Dhurwa. During the season when the mangoes ripen, Jimme had gone with Dhurwa to collect and eat the fruit, and the husband suspecting them followed and watched them secretly. Dhurwa climbed the tree and shook it; the woman collected the fallen mangoes, and they ate them together. Then Dhurwa took her behind some bushes and was about to have intercourse with her, when Bakka appeared and separated them. Some time later Bakka returned suddenly from his field to drink water and discovered Dhurwa coming out of his house. He said that he would report the matter to the village elders. When he scolded his wife for her behaviour, she retorted that she would live with the man she loved and that nothing could prevent her. There was then a regular family quarrel, in which Bakka's father was beaten, and this so enraged the boy that he struck his wife a heavy blow on the head and killed her. There can be no doubt that in this case Bakka's feelings were outraged not only because his wife was unfaithful, but because she was unfaithful with a forbidden person, an act which might bring all manner of supernatural vengeance upon him—cattle might die and he himself might be afflicted with a psycho-dropsical swelling.

Another case of the same kind is that of Marvi Boti of Telam. Boti and his younger brother Kosa were living with their father, and were both married. Boti's wife died and he fell in love with his younger brother's wife, though the villagers said that it was really the girl who made overtures to Boti and threatened to commit suicide if he did not marry her. Kosa suspected his wife and beat her, and this seems to have decided Boti, for a week later he ran away with the girl to the Jeypore Zamindari. After about three weeks Boti